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ABSTRACT

Work attitudes of voluntarily unemployed males were investigated. Young men from four different alternative life style groups--hippies, bikers, surfers, and criminals--whose lives did not include work, and matched workers were interviewed and briefly tested. Data concerning their activities and attitudes were examined, the 88 variables showing differences among the groups were intercorrelated and the matrix factor analyzed. Factors were found which reflected work attitudes important in all groups, including conformity to work scheduling and the views of work as requirement for livelihood or as enjoyment. Other factors reflected patterns associated with membership in the different groups. (Author)

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WORK FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE VOLUNTARILY UNEMPLOYED

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The reasons why people work have long been subjects of intensive study. Similarly psychologists have frequently occupied themselves with finding what leads to the choice of a vocational career. What causes people not to work or not to choose a work career has been comparatively neglected.

Yet there have been and are now many persons who voluntarily have chosen not to work. They are not just playboys (or playgirls), tramps and remittance men. Now they may be hippies seeking more spontaneous personal relationships, surfers and ski bums devoted to sports that take the place of occupation, outlaw bikers who value their raunchy independence above anything they can get from a job, or criminals who may work hard at their hustles but fail to work in legal ways. These are ways of life which have activities and values which take precedence over making one's way in the pedestrian pace of the workaday world.

The hippies have been perhaps the most noted and most studied of these non-working groups (Allison, 1976; Mills, 1973; Simmons & Winograd, 1966; Smart & Jackson, 1969; Yablonsky, 1968). Although many people talk of them as a movement of the past, the hippies are still with us, more often now calling themselves freaks ("members of the free culture") or longhairs. They still are likely to want to bring on more gentle personal relationships, to be open to new experience, including the kinds of experiences that come with the use of street drugs, and they still are receptive to exotic or new religions while they may leave the old "uptight" religions behind them as unworthy of the liberated spirit.

Surfers and ski bums are other groups which may try to live without work. They have a loose and carefree stance (Wolfe, 1968) and though most of them may pick up some money by occasional jobs, usually in the field of their sport, there are indications that this goes against their creed. One of the surfers' heroes is Hal, the legendary surfer of Malibu, who at 35 claimed never to have worked a day in his life -

nor could he count more than a few days without surfing. How do they live? Some are living from savings, from family, or from unemployment compensation. Some live from the hospitality of others because they have skills they can teach or are pleasant to have around. Some live from the occasional job at the beach or in the surf shops. Surfers have an almost religious feeling about their bodies and fitness, about the outdoors and meeting its challenges. Their commitment to the life they are leading is made more poignant by their realization that they will eventually have to give it up.

Outlaw motorcyclists, members of Hell's Angels and similar groups, are not just recreational motorcyclists. They are rather the prototypical bikers who live with their machines for their experience of speed and mastery and for the fellowship of their rough-hewn clubs. Many of them live together in communal groups, more of them without work than working. They have suffered from the sensationalism of the media. Thompson (1966) tried to correct some of the misapprehensions fostered by the Press but ended up creating some of his own. Reynolds (1967), that rare bird, an articulate biker, tries in poetic prose and expletive to give some of the quality of his experiences, but it comes out as a very special kind of document, the account of a biker who is an artist, poet and acid-head, not the typical biker at all.

Not all criminals have chosen to remain unemployed; many combine criminal ways of getting money with keeping a regular job. A large group, however, may support themselves or their drug habits or both from the proceeds of their criminal activities. And these people can be said to have chosen to live without conventional work. Although a great deal of attention has been paid to the drug addict sector of this group the attention has been paid largely to their taking drugs rather than to their economic activities or to their attitudes to the working world. And there is another large sector of the unemployed criminal group who are not addicted but live by their

wits in contrast to the "square" world (Sutherland, 1937). This is a group which has its own standards of what are proper behaviors and attitudes. It is likely that they have their own characteristic views of work.

The configurations of views of work which these different groups show might correspond with views of work which have occurred in history and which survive as alternatives today. Or they could be simply new combinations of activities and attitudes.

The varying views of work in history are revealing of the dynamics of societies (Tilgher, 1962). For the ancient Hebrews work was a curse, the expiation of the sin of Adam. The attitude is expressed in the dictum of Genesis: "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread." In the more stratified classical world of the Greeks and Romans not everyone had to work. Work then became something that slaves did; it was unworthy of a free man. It was an a-schole, an un-leisure. (De Grazia, 1962).

The early Christians saw work more positively since it provided the wherewithal for good works. Later in the Middle Ages work became ennobled. It was a vocation, a calling from God. What seemed like the drudgery of being assigned to scrub the monastery floors was almost like prayer when it was done in the presence of God and as a tribute to him.

In Reformation times came the development of what we now call the Protestant work ethic. For Calvin, success in an occupation was a sign that one had been elected to salvation (Weber, 1948). Work became a way of self-justification and work became the measure of the man. Such a view of work as self-justification was suitable to a rising middle class. Later the 18th and 19th Century moralists felt that work was good for the laboring classes and kept them from mischief. Although this had theological overtones, since it was well known that the devil would find work for idle hands to do, work was seen as preventing evil rather than being a positive good in

in itself. This was essentially a vision of work as busyness or pastime.

All of these views of work, as a curse, as vocation, as self-justification, and as busyness, are still viable, but a secular age has found new work meanings. The modern careerist rising to the challenge sees it as self-development or self-actualization. The salesperson who says "I'm in the pyjama game" sees work as a kind of sport or fun. The hipster who asks "What's your racket?" sees work as a way of fooling the public. Thus today it should be possible to see work as:

1. A curse
2. Vocation
3. Self-justification
4. Busyness
5. Self-actualization
6. Fun
7. Racket

Are these the views of different groups? Is work as racket the view of the criminal, work as self-justification the view of the religious? Would the hippie want to see work as self-actualization, the biker as fun? Or, alternatively, would all the lifestyle groups which have rejected work tend to see it as a curse?

These days of the waning 70's are different from the hopeful times when the decade was beginning. A chill of closed possibilities reigns over the job market. For youth today there is both less incentive and less room to drop out, less to drop out from and less to drop out to. Yet there still are street people who manage to maintain themselves in times when welfare aid is harder to come by and when inflation makes everyone's living a little more precarious. Indeed, it can be argued that these simple-living non-workers may have one of the more successful adaptations to the coming of the eighties when those lifestyles will be valued which make least inroads

upon scarce resources. So these alternative ways of life can be expected to endure, even to spread in times of generally forced retrenchment.

The present study looks at the articulation of work views and of behaviors by factor analysis of attitudes and current activities. The investigation from which this present analysis is drawn (Marks & Glaser, In Press) concentrated upon young men 18 to 30 who might be conventionally expected to be embarking upon work careers but who are instead involved with styles of life which prevent their employment. We studied 30 men called hippies (they more frequently referred to themselves as "freaks" and "longhairs,") 30 young sportsmen who, as ski bums or surfers, were substituting for work a devotion to avocational sport, 30 convicted criminals who had just arrived in prison, and 16 members of outlaw motorcycle clubs who called themselves bikers. The 16 bikers were all we could find to interview among this wary and disaffected group, who saw us either as censorious representatives of the straight world or as possible police informers. These were samples of opportunity: we found them where we could and sometimes one subject of a group would lead us to another. But our samples came approximately half from California and half from the Pacific Northwest so they do not represent local coteries. Each subject defined himself as belonging to the appropriate alternative lifestyle group and was seen by others as identified with that group. To contrast with these alternative life style groups we selected 54 young men who were working or preparing for a work career and who were matched in age, race, and socioeconomic background with individual members of our alternative groups.

We interviewed all of our 160 subjects inquiring about their backgrounds, their activities, their moral and philosophic convictions, and their attitudes to work. We also measured their agreement with 30 questionnaire items derived from a Brookings Institute study of a national probability sample in the 1960's (Kilpatrick et al, 1964),

had them rank the importance for them of 13 meanings of work, of 15 job characteristics, and of 19 life goals, and also had them complete a non-verbal test of intellectual ability. Our interviewers were people of the same age group as our subjects, most of them graduate students in the social sciences, who were trained by the author.

Data on activities and attitudes from the interviews, the three sets of rankings, and the responses to the Brookings questionnaire items were analyzed to determine which ones showed differences among the four alternative life styles and the matched working young men. Eighty-four or about 57% of the variables showed such differences and an 84 x 84 correlation matrix was factored by a principal components program with diagonal elements estimated by an iteration procedure which began with the maximum off-diagonal element of each row in the matrix. Twenty-seven factors were extracted before the eigen values went below 1.0. These were then machine rotated to ar oblique solution. The first 12 factors accounted for about three-fourths of the variance of this matrix and were readily interpretable. They illuminate what goes into these young men's thinking about work.

The first factor (Table 1) which accounts for 18% of the common variance appears to be one that defines the straight group which is working or preparing for work. All of the alternative life styles have negative loadings upon it, while being straight has a large positive loading. Typically the person high on this factor is involved in scheduled activities in organized groups where he is satisfied with less independence than the alternative life style person requires. He defers his needs and thinks toward the future. He is unlikely to use drugs. This factor can be called: Straights' acceptance of schedules. It resembles Rokeach's (1973) first factor of immediate or deferred values.

Table 2 shows loadings on the second factor. This factor accounting for a little

over 10% of the common variance seems to be associated with membership in the criminal group. The very highest loading comes on the rejection of "Fun" as a possible meaning for work. Abjuring fun, then, this factor emphasizes work as a chance for getting ahead in accordance with the rather crass life goals of Money and Social Recognition. This is the only factor which has a significant loading on the grim statement from the Brookings Questionnaire: "Even if you dislike your work you should do your best." This factor helps define the criminal group and can also be thought of "Work as a curse." It corresponds to the third factor, promotion and financial security, in Hackman's (1969) analysis of job ratings. Hackman found this factor went with deference and authoritativeness.

The third factor (Table 3) accounting for about 8% of the variance is composed of items from the Brookings Questionnaire reflecting intrinsic motivation to work. It can be thought of as the tendency, when confronted with a question about one's work attitudes, to come across as ambitious and self-starting. It could be called the "eager young man" syndrome and it is associated neither with a consistent view of work nor with membership in any one of the life style groups. The highest loadings are on such items "A person has a right to expect his work to be fun," "After you are making enough money to get along then making money in an occupation isn't very important," and "To me, it's important in an occupation for a person to be able to carry out his own ideas without interference." This factor might be considered an agreeable test-taking set since it involves agreement with so many questionnaire items but being agreeable in this context probably means a subject is showing that he has the "right" attitudes toward work. It has some resemblances to Hackman's first factor of accomplishment.

The fourth factor whose loadings are shown in Table 4 accounts for 7% of the common variance. It is labelled irreligious cynicism and it is not associated with

membership in any of the groups. It may be the reverse of the view of work as a calling from God since the Brookings "Work is a way of being of service to God" has a negative loading upon it. Still the most highly loaded items are more personal than work-oriented: Superficial self description on the "Who are you?" test (cf. Insel, 1968), a downgrading of Salvation as a personal goal, non-affiliation with conventional religious groups and a weakness of personal religious commitment. It is interesting that there should be a substantial loading for the use of conventional transportation (which means that the subject owns his own vehicle or used public transportation rather than hitching rides with others or sharing the use of a vehicle) on this factor. It suggests that having reliable wheels is of some importance to persons in the sample who reject religion. Also of interest is the fact that there is some tendency for the interviewers to rate persons high on this factor as intelligent. Whatever their intellectual capacity is, they would appear to come across knowing and smart. This association with apparent ability is interesting since this factor resembles Rokeach's second value factor which has competent at one pole and religious at the other.

The fifth factor (Table 5) accounting for 6% of the common variance contrasts contented surfers with dissatisfied hippies. It seems to be entirely a life style kind of variable and has little relevance to differing views of work. Physical activity and satisfaction with housing, transportation, clothing and food all are important here. The interviewer's rating of intelligence is negatively loaded so it would seem that the brooding hippies appear more intelligent than the satisfied jocks.

Table 6 shows the loadings for the sixth factor, which accounts for 5% of the variance and appears to be an expression of a kind of dutiful work ethic. It is, perhaps, a reflection of the survival of the Protestant work ethic among some rather discouraged of our sample. Three determined items from the Brookings may be a

core of this factor: "A person should constantly try to succeed at work even if it interferes with other things in life," "Work is a way of being of service to God," and "Work is most satisfying when there are hard problems to solve." The alienation is shown in such Brookings items as "Success in an occupation is mainly a matter of luck" and "To me, work is nothing more than a way of making a living." It is shown also in the subject's expressing the feeling that his life style doesn't contribute to the good of the world and in his refusal to discuss his problems with anyone. Pursuing the flogging self-discipline of this view of work involves some renunciation. A person scoring high on this factor would not demand independence among the factors which would attract him to a job and on the Brookings he tends to downplay the intrinsic pleasures of seeing the results of his work, or developing his abilities or ideas there. Being a hippie has a slight but significant loading on this grim and alienated factor. Just as Factor 2 seems to represent the materialistic view of what the criminal anticipates from work so does this factor reflect in part what the hippie expects if he were to go to work.

Table 7 shows the loadings on Factor 7, containing 4% of the variance, Commitment to the hippie life style. The loadings seem to describe someone who is definite about his plans to the future and who is committed to his own alternative life style both verbally and behaviorally. Persons scoring high on this factor tend to be older, to be hippies, to have a religious commitment and to use drugs.

Factor 8 (Table 8) is in some contrast with the last one since it seems to represent impermanence as exemplified by surfers rather than commitment as shown by hippies. This factor, like the next four, accounts for around 3% of the variance and has been dubbed "All American unconventionality." The core of this factor seems to be the espousal of health as a life goal coupled with unconventional ways of getting food and clothing and unconventional religion. For the future the Factor 8 person accepts work as necessary, wants to provide for his family, hopes to be achieving at

35, but is not ambitious to get ahead into a supervisory position. Being a surfer loads positively on this factor while being a criminal loads negatively. It seems to indicate a cheerful unconventionality for the present coupled with a realistic intention to get to work in the future.

Factor 9 (Table 9) can only be called escapist since it has its highest loading on using substances for escape. Other loadings, though significant, are relatively low. None of the life styles load on this factor and it does not represent a view of work. The negative loading on years of education suggests dropping out of school which is consonant with the escapist interpretation.

The heaviest loading on factor 10 (Table 10) is a negative one on being a biker, so it can be thought of only as an un-biker syndrome. It seems to represent a kind of idealistic, egalitarian cheerfulness characteristic of the hippie and definitely not characteristic of the biker. Since it has a negative loading on definite plans for age 35 it can be thought of as having a kind of live-for-the-moment cast.

Factor 11 (Table 11) seems characteristic of the criminal. It combines a record of rebellion and amoral behavior with protestations of reform and statements that he is certain he can do better in the future. It therefore has been dubbed criminal hypocrisy.

Factor 12 seems to delineate the surfer who may plan to break away, just as 11 characterizes the criminal who says he wants to break away. The highest loading is on the Brookings statement: "Work is a good builder of character." It also has the un-surfer-like acceptance of authority and a lack of commitment to the chosen life style. This factor has been named "moralistic surfer."

Discussion

One reason for doing this study was to determine whether the activities these young men were pursuing or the attitudes they expressed fell into clusters which corresponded in some way to their group identifications. A second aim was to see whether some of the clusters corresponded with the varying views of work which have arisen through history.

The life style groups are defined, each of them frequently by several factors. The working straights are defined by the first factor with its emphasis upon deferring needs, planning for the future, and the acceptance of schedules. All of the alternative life style groups are characterized by the negative of this: they do not plan ahead, don't accept schedules, use drugs and look for independence in their work.

The hippies are defined by a number of factors. Like the others they share a negative loading on 1 but their highest loading is a negative one on 5 where they are contrasted with the surfers by being physically inactive and dissatisfied with their success in getting life's necessities. They also have some loadings on 10, which differentiates them from the bikers in their higher level of moral development and their lack of ambition, on 6 where they look on work with a kind of grim Protestant work ethic, and on 7 where they declare their intention to remain in their present life style well on into the future. Thus the hippies are defined as unscheduled, unphysical, rather contemplative and interested in religion, committed to their life style but tending to be dissatisfied with their physical standard of living, and passive rather than ambitious.

The criminals are defined by Factors 2, Grim work, 8, Conventionality, and 11, Hypocrisy. Thus they are defined by seeing work as an unpleasant necessity for getting ahead by a lack of emphasis upon health, by conventional ways of buying food, clothing, shelter, and transport, and by defective moral development in spite

of hypocritical protestations that they are moral.

Like the other alternative life styles, surfers are distinguished from the straights by Factor 1. They are also defined by 5, Satisfied jock, 8, Unconventionality, and 12, Moralistic. Thus they turn out to be active and physical, satisfied with their unconventional ways of providing for life's necessities, and possibly inclined to go to work when the time comes, since they see it as good for the soul - perhaps a reflection of their feeling best when they are physically active.

The bikers are defined only by the negatives of Factors 1, 2 and 10. Thus they turn out to be unscheduled, not planning ahead, irreligious and amoral, dissatisfied with the material way in which they live, and not inclined to assume authority on the job.

Some of the factors seem to be reflections of alternative views of work. Thus 2 seems to be a view of work as a curse, though a necessary curse if one is to have the good things of life. Factor 3 clearly reflects an emphasis upon the intrinsic values of work. It sees work as fun or as self-development. Factor 6 seems to represent the hippie's driven version of the Protestant work ethic while Factor 12 presents a surfer's version which might be akin to the medieval emphasis upon work as God-given calling.

Looking at the factors it becomes possible to see what are some of the barriers which keep these voluntarily unemployed young men from working. For all of them it is difficult to accept the tyranny of the clock represented in Factor 1. Perhaps some kind of sliding schedules would make it easier for them to accept work. For the criminals it would appear from Factor 2 that work is only a way of getting money and social prestige. Yet their lack of skills and training makes it highly unlikely that their work would be rewarded in the way that they demand. Skill training would appear to be a first requisite if they are to enter the work force. The hippies seem to

have a view of work so demanding, according to Factor 6, that it requires a total devotion they are not prepared to give. Perhaps they have seen work only as represented by their striving parents. To get them to work might require exposure to more mellow and relaxed working models. And Factor 12 suggests that the surfers will eventually work - if only they can find work which is idealistic enough for them.

Finally it is interesting to see the factors which are associated neither with group membership nor with any coherent view of work. These are Factor 4, Irreligious cynicism and Factor 9, Escapist. Both seem to represent facets of personal alienation, but it is interesting to note that they do not characterize any one of the life style groups nor do they distinguish the alternative life styles from the straights. It is quite possible, therefore, to be personally alienated and straight and, conversely, to be a member of one of the alternative life style groups without showing personal alienation. They would seem to be just what the name suggests, alternatives, not necessarily suggesting flight or cynicism.

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Table 1

Loadings Greater Than .2 of Variables On Factor 1:

Straights' Submission to Schedules

Decimal Points Omitted

Being a hippie	-22
Being a biker	-26
Being a surfer	-24
Being a criminal	-21
Being straight	75
Now working or studying	74
How scheduled are activities	55
How organized are groups he associates with	41
How well does he defer his needs	50
Using his skills on the job	43
Accepts schedules	43
Oriented to the present	-23
Uses drugs now	-39
Job factors: wants independence	-31

Table 2

Loadings Greater Than .2 of Variables On Factor 2:

Criminals' Grim View Of Work

Decimal Points Omitted

Being criminal		31
Level of moral development		-31
Job factors:	Wants chance to supervise	-23
Meaning of work:	Fun	-60
	Chance to get ahead	52
Life goals:	Social recognition	35
	Money	21
Brookings:		
	Wants family to have things friends and neighbors have	33
	Getting recognition for his own work is important	42
	It's important to see the results of his own work	24
	It's important that work develops his abilities	23
	Even if you dislike your work you should do your best	23

Table 3

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 3:

Brookings Intrinsic Motivation

Decimal Points Omitted

Brookings Questionnaire:	
Work should be fun	74
Work is just to make a living	21
With enough money to get along, more's unimportant	61
Wants recognition for work	37
Prefers opportunity in a job over security	53
Job success is a matter of luck	23
Important to see results of his work	33
Important to develop abilities at work	26
Solving hard problems at work is satisfying	32
Important to develop own ideas without interference	67
It's O.K. if a person doesn't want to work hard	27
Work is service to God	26

Table 4

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 4:

Irreligious Cynicism

Decimal Points Omitted

Affiliated with standard denomination	-44
Strength of religious commitment	-41
Uses conventional transportation	42
Drinks	21
Doesn't tell problems to anyone	24
Superficial response to "Who are you?"	27
Meaning of work: Chance to get ahead	22
Life goals: Freedom	23
Money	25
Salvation	-75
Brookings: Work is service to God	-21
Interviewer's rating of intelligence	21

Table 5

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 5:

Happy Jock Vs. Dissatisfied Hippie

Decimal Points Omitted

Being a hippie	-59
Being a surfer	56
Physically active	71
Uses skills in present activities	24
Satisfaction with housing	32
Satisfaction with transportation	23
Satisfaction with clothing	42
Satisfaction with food	52
Feels control over events affecting him	30
Interviewer's rating of intelligence	-38

Table 6

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 6:

Dutiful Work Ethic

Decimal Points Omitted

Being a hippie	21
Life style does not contribute to world	23
Wants nobody's approval	22
Job factors: Independence	-30
Brookings Questionnaire:	
Work is just to make a living	30
In a job prefers opportunity over security	27
Job success is a matter of luck	73
Important to see results of his work	-48
Important to develop abilities at work	-36
Solving hard problems at work is satisfying	22
Important to develop your own ideas without interference	-23
Try for success even if it interferes with rest of life	63
Work is service to God	63

Table 7

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 7:

Commitment To Hippie Life Style

Decimal Points Omitted

Being a hippie	22
Age	33
Hopes to be achieving at 35	23
Confident of attaining hopes	31
Definiteness of plans for 35	56
Selects own life goals	38
Religious commitment	27
Level of moral development	28
Committed to own life style verbally	54
Uses marijuana	22
Uses drugs	26
Committed to own life style behaviorally	32
Brookings Questionnaire:	
Important to see results of his work	22
Important to develop abilities at work	22

Table 8

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 8:

All American Unconventionality

Decimal Points Omitted

Being a surfer	25
Being a criminal	-26
Hopes to be achieving at age 35	24
Religious affiliation with standard denomination	-24
Conventional clothing	-40
Conventional food	-34
Uses marijuana	38
Won't talk over problems with anyone	-25
Job factors: Wants chance to supervise	-45
Meaning of work: Something unnecessary	-27
Life goals: Health	51
Brookings Questionnaire: Wants family to have what friends and neighbors do	22

Table 9

Loadings Greater Than .2 On Variables On Factor 9:

Escapist

Decimal Points Omitted

Years of school	-27
Conventional housing	21
Accepts authority	26
Uses marijuana	21
Uses drugs or alcohol for escape	74
Commitment to own life style group	-22
Life goals: Love	-23
Brookings Questionnaire:	
Wants recognition for his work	24
Important to see results of his work	22

Table 10

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 10:

Un-Biker

Decimal Points Omitted

Being a hippie	29
Being a biker	-57
Definiteness of plans for age 35	-25
Religious commitment	28
Level of moral development	24
Housing satisfaction	24
Clothing satisfaction	36
Job factors: Wants chance to supervise	-36

Table 11

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 11:

Criminal Hypocrisy

Decimal Points Omitted

Being a criminal	34
Acts in accord with his avowed moral code	-55
Accepts authority	-23
Actions show commitment to career or life style	-27
Feels control over events affecting him	41
How committed to own life style group	-30
Meaning of work: Unnecessary	-31
Chance to get ahead	-26
Life goals: Accomplishment	23
Brookings Questionnaire:	
Wants family to have what friends and neighbors do	22

Table 12

Loadings Greater Than .2 Of Variables On Factor 12:

Moralistic Surfer

Decimal Points Omitted

Being a surfer	25
Confident of attaining hopes for age 35	22
Activities are scheduled	22
Accepts authority	21
Accepts schedules	33
Lives in the present	-25
Committed to his own life style group	-32
Job factors: Wants to use skill	22
Wants independence	22
Meaning of work: Unnecessary	-22
Life goals: Honesty and integrity	27
Brookings Questionnaire:	
It's OK if a person doesn't want to work hard	-25
Work builds character	43
Work is service to God	28
Aptitudes: SRA Non-Verbal Score	24